Human Events YOUR WASHINGTON SERVICE

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CUBA: *In the wake of the "invasion"* .....(273)

CIA: *Getting the fish eye from Congress* .....(274)

UDALL: *His blow at Ike backfired* .....(274)

TAXES: *Administration proposals scored* ....(275)

RED CHINA: *GOP opposes a UN seat* .....(276)

Post-Mortem: On "Black Wednesday" evening (April 19), President Kennedy revealed unhappy facts about the Cuban invasion to a group of congressional leaders he had called to the White House. The following series of pictures unfolded, according to participants:

The few hundred rebels landed and met a withering fire from Castro forces—including Russian MIG's and tanks. Two US destroyers, which had convoyed the rebels, stood silently offshore, without even returning fire directed against them by the Russian MIG's and tanks. They could have easily destroyed the Castro arms and dispersed the "reception committee," but had received orders not to fire. A few days before, the President had publicly vowed that the US would not intervene militarily. This announcement, it is now agreed, shattered the morale of the anti-Castro underground in Cuba.

One member of Congress suggested at the White House briefing that the readiness of Castro forces at precisely the beach where the landing was scheduled (of all the hundreds of miles of Cuban coast) was exceedingly suspicious. Central Intelligence Agency Chief Allen Dulles mumbled unintelligibly.

Another member of Congress, addressing General Lemnitzer (Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff), asked whether the JCS had approved the venture. The President cut in quickly, before Lemnitzer could answer, saying, "The JCS were neither asked to approve or disapprove; they were simply informed of plans."

The above intelligence makes clear to Capitol Hill why the invasion failed. When President Eisenhower unleashed the marines in the Lebanon landing in 1958, he was prepared to back them up with sufficient force to ensure success. When Kennedy unleashed the Cuban rebels, he announced publicly he would not back them up with US military forces. Nor had he consulted the National Security Council or the Joint Chiefs of Staff. It is considered significant that only after it was all over, on Saturday, April 22, did Kennedy call in the National Security Council, for the first time since he had been in office.

Why did the President publicly exclude help for the invasion? Stewart Alsop, long-time liberal columnist, suggests it was the influence of Adlai Stevenson, US Representative to the United Nations. This is confirmed in many quarters.

Were there secret agents of Castro planted in the rebel ranks who tipped off Castro on the time and place of the landing? Some members of Congress think so. On September 15, 1960, HUMAN EVENTS ran a story from Cuban exile sources reporting that secret Castro agents among the rebels projected a "phony landing" in Cuba, of which Castro would be informed and which the bearded one would easily decimate. Some Senators upon reading the piece warned Secretary of State Herter, and they claim Herter gave orders to thwart the phony invasion plot. Few in the Capital doubt that Kennedy and the CIA made a cardinal mistake by recognizing, as leaders of the invasion, the left-wing Miro Cardona group which has been widely distrusted by most of the Cuban exiles here and reportedly by the anti-Castroites in Cuba itself.

How did Kennedy take the bad news on "Black Wednesday"? It is remarked that he seemed to the members of Congress a "dejected figure," and "kept his eyes down" in talking to them. Why did he seek out GOP leaders (Ike, Richard Nixon, Nelson Rockefeller, et al)? Not merely to still partisan attacks. It is felt he was desperately worried and anxious to get all opinions he could, anything that would help him solve his grim problem.

Republicans, aware of the dangers of the situation, leaned over backward to avoid a show of partisanship—hence too many in the press dismissed GOP reaction as just "supporting the President." Actually, GOP leaders are seeking to advise and sway the President in the best interests of the US, according to their lights, and have told him they want to be consulted. "We want to be in on the take-offs as well as the crash landings." They hope their influence, together with that of some Democrats, may override the "let's wait and see," and "let's make no military moves, only put up money to aid social progress"—the attitudes of too many of the liberal Democratic advisers in and out of the White House. Senator Styles Bridges (R.-N.H.) wants a new and firm re-statement by Kennedy of the Monroe Doctrine, and many across the aisle concur.

Some Republicans believe Kennedy took the honest and brave policy of assuming full responsibility for the Cuban debacle and that he may create a new, strong course to repair the damage; and therefore should be supported so long as he does so. These GOP members say that such a strong course could come into play if Castro executes US citizens, makes threatening moves on other Latin American

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countries, or initiates some unforeseen provocation. At present, however, men of both parties are very pessimistic; they especially fear difficult chain reactions from our great defeat which may occur in Latin America.

Storm Over CIA: No one in the Capital doubts that the Central Intelligence Agency, headed by Allen Dulles, bears—second to Kennedy—a heavy responsibility for the Cuba debacle. It has hitherto been shielded from congressional investigation, and Congress has not even been able to check on the way CIA money is spent. Today, members of Congress want to probe into this extraordinary agency —root and branch. Fireworks are expected.

Initially, under Truman in 1946, Admiral Sidney Souers set up and designed the CIA as a relatively small but high-level group to evaluate reports from army and navy intelligence sources and the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Later, it branched out and grew, adding cloak-and-dagger operational activities and many other "duties" not originally intended. Today it employs ten or fifteen thousand people. Allen Dulles is regarded as a well-meaning but "easy-chair" figurehead over a sprawling bureaucracy, whose real leaders are said to be "way over on the Left."

The selection of the Miro Cardona left-wing group to head the rebellion is said to be typical of the thinking abounding in Dulles' agency. "Force out all Latin American dictators—except those on the Left"—is reported to be a watchword among heavy thinkers in the CIA.

Capitol Camera: Congressional collaboration with the President during the crisis was vigorous. On Tuesday, April 18, Kennedy called Republican Senate leaders to the White House. They assisted him in writing the strong note he fired at Khrushchev that day (before the invasion failed). Whole paragraphs in the note reportedly came from the GOP, materially firming the President's stand.

• *At the "Black Wednesday" White House Conference (April 19), the Democratic congressional leaders were a study, say eye witnesses. Speaker Sam Rayburn said nothing. Senator Richard Russell (Ga.) and House Floor Leader John McCormack of Massachusetts literally grilled the President—seeking, together with Republicans Bridges and Rep. Leslie Arends (Ill.), to stiffen Kennedy. (Independent McCormack, it is recalled, has not always gone along with the President in party politics.)*

• During the crisis, conservatives bitterly assailed certain of the President's close advisers. One top Republican mentioned three—Walt W. Rostow, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., and McGeorge Bundy, all known as "soft approach," "social and international aid, rather than military," brain trusters. Other critics add to this list Paul Nitze (an old Truman adviser) and Jerome Wiesner, advocate of the atom test ban (see page 276).

• *Washington is appalled at the fact that the Joint Chiefs of Staff were not called in and consulted on the Cuba undertaking. Ike and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles always consulted the Joint Chiefs before any critical decisions—such as the Lebanon landing, the affray over Matsu and Quemoy, over Dien Bien Phu in Indo-China, over Turkey, and on many other occasions. The "liberal Apostles" in the White House and Secretary of State Dean Rusk are said to be behind this policy of treating the Joint Chiefs as purely technicians to whom orders are given, but who are not consulted about policies.*

• Another Kennedy boo-boo: his offer to send troops to help French President de Gaulle (then suppressing the revolt of his military in Algeria). Public reaction: how can he help de Gaulle when he can't handle Castro? Along Diplomatic Row, stronger reaction: the proud de Gaulle regards this as an insult. Besides, it was unwarranted—the Algerian revolt never had a chance; American intelligence should have told the President that.

• *Both the House and Senate voted last week to give away another $2 billion by authorizing that amount for the "Food for Peace" program (Public Law 480—83rd Congress) under former Congressman George McGovern. The money will be used for selling farm products "in surplus" in the US to foreign governments in exchange for foreign currencies, which will then be used for loans to those governments or for activities abroad by our own Federal agencies—all of which want to get into the international act.*

• Roving Ambassador W. Averell Harriman seems less sold on Soviet space claims than his boss, President Kennedy, who congratulated Khrushchev on Yuri Gagarin's supposed space flight. Harriman said that "we would make a great mistake" to accept Soviet space claims without scientific data to support them. Pending further proof, the International Aeronautical Federation has refused to recognize Moscow's claims on the Gagarin flight.

• *Recent public bickering in the august Supreme Court of the United States causes an irreverent wag to remark that leftist-leaning Chief Justice Earl Warren "has found too much mustard on his hot dog." At any rate, Mr. Justice Frankfurter appears to have spiced up the proceedings.*

• It may have been nothing but a coincidence, but the very day that the Administration dropped the income tax suit against Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, the Harlem Democrat (who is chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee) dropped his roadblocks to the Administration's school aid bill.

Udall: Sympathetic charity shown by Republican leaders to the President in the Cuban disaster was sorely strained when the Administration's own Mr. Know-it-all—Interior Secretary Stewart Udall—took a swipe at national unity by trying to shift the onus for the invasion fiasco to plans he alleged were made by Eisenhower and Nixon. He even smeared the self-sufficient "image" of the young Chief Executive by implying that he had no more

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judgment or authority than to carry out the alleged plan—which turned out to be so immature and amateurish that it could never be ascribed to the great military figure of World War II who led the Allied forces (and won) in the invasions of North Africa and Normandy.

No wonder Kennedy got mad and obviously slapped down Udall, who weaseled out with an apology. Ike kept his temper and his silence, but there is evidence that Nixon was near an explosive disclosure of the whole sorry business.

Udall is a candidate to become the first Cabinet casualty because of his crude pressures on Congressmen to coerce support for Administration legislation, his empire building in the Interior Department and his meddlesome barging into other fields such as education and professional football.

Disillusion with Dillon: Last week, another part of the myth that the new Administration would follow sound financial policies disappeared. Early in the Kennedy take-over, much was made over the President's appointment of former Assistant Secretary of State Douglas Dillon, putative Republican of the Wall Street Dillon family, to the post of Secretary of the Treasury, on the score that this "conservative" banker would provide a balance wheel to the liberal Kennedy team. Now Dillon, in a speech to newspaper editors, emerges as one of the great supporters of a deficit economy, indeed boasts of it.

Dillon, it is recalled, advocated a balanced budget and urged reduction of the national debt when he was seeking confirmation of his appointment before the Senate Finance Committee. Now, alluding to the expected budget deficit, he says, "Such a deficit is not a cause for alarm in times like these . . . . Another deficit is in prospect for fiscal '62, one of about $2 billion. This too will be entirely appropriate."

Many veterans of the Washington scene, including those on the HUMAN EVENTS staff, warned last winter that Dillon was what Ike used to call a "wild spender," that his allegiance to Republicanism was nebulous, that he was a dyed-in-wool zealot for expansive foreign aid. But a wave of wishful thinking among businessmen muffled such warnings at that time. Today the mask is off.

Minimum Wage: The Republican minority of the conference committee on the widely differing House and Senate minimum-wage bills is apparently reconciled to being out-voted in favor of the Senate or Administration version. But a fight is forecast when the conference report is submitted to the House—and some opinion is that it could be won by advocates of the traditional theory of interstate commerce as opposed to the "dollar value" standard set up in the Senate bill for even intrastate industries.

Senator George A. Smathers (D.-Fla.) holds doubts about the Administration bill similar to those raised in a study of the minimum wage in Florida by Marshall R. Colberg, of Florida State University, published recently in the Journal of Law and Economics of the University of Chicago law school.

The Colberg study was devoted to what happened in Florida after the present $1 *minimum wage became effective in* 1956. *It found that in* 23 *counties classified as low-wage, the more sharply wages were increased the more workers lost their jobs.*

Colberg summarized by saying, "The relatively low-wage counties will be affected more adversely than the high-wage counties by an increase in the national minimum wage," and that the industrial growth of the low-wage counties is further discouraged by "the frequent introduction into Congress of new bills of this sort."

Tax Program: The Administration's tax proposals have inspired a wave of criticism, typified by Representative Bruce Alger's (R.-Tex.) exclamation, "a declaration of war on American free enterprise." Much of it centers on the "tax credit for depreciation" recommendation inasmuch as business had hoped recovery would be helped by some fast write-off measure (similar to the Smathers-Keogh proposal). Instead, it was offered the "tax credit," reportedly an idea of left-wing Stanley Surrey, newly-named tax expert of the Treasury.

A canvass of business reaction suggests that only scattered and very mild assent is forthcoming. Mostly a strong adverse feeling prevails. William J. Grede, head of the J. I. Case Co., said it's just "nibbling" at the problem. Small business voices anger, saying that, while big firms may derive some benefit, small firms, never. Even certain large firms actively dislike it. Major criticism is that it favors those with readily available cash, or with adequate credit standing. Economists say it simply does not solve the problem of diminishing or ending the obsolescence of plants which has overtaken industry since the New Deal tinkered with the depreciation problem back in the Thirties, and has hampered our industrial growth.

Additionally, Keith Funston of the New York Stock Exchange reacts strongly against the proposal to do away with present dividend income tax benefits (the device to offset the double taxation evils, a small start albeit), and the exclusion of the first $50 of taxpayers' dividends and the tax withholding on dividends. Funston has won applause for proposing instead that Congress boost the dividend exclusion to $100 and to raise dividend tax credit from 4% to 10%.

WESLEY H. GOSHORN, Pastor, Calvary Baptist Church, Monrovia, California: "I wish it were possible that HUMAN EVENTS could be put into the hands of every sincere and dedicated Christian minister in America. I am sure that if they would use it they would find as I have immeasurable help in knowing what is taking place in this country and around the world and the policies that each of us must understand and strive to maintain in order to continue a free America."

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Red China Resolution: In the wake of an Associated Press report that President Kennedy told Prime Minister Macmillan that it would take a year to soften American public opinion regarding Red Chinese membership to the United Nations, the House Republican Policy Committee has released a tough statement opposing any such thing as follows:

"Vague and conflicting statements by high officials of the Kennedy Administration concerning the alleged inevitability of admission of Red China to the United Nations have given impetus to the belief that this Administration is adopting a 'soft' attitude on this question. Any indications of softness in this matter are inevitably interpreted by other nations as an invitation to change their position on the matter and adopt one contrary to that officially held by the Administration in anticipation of a change in policy by the United States."

House Rules: The packing of the House Rules Committee, hailed by the liberals as a means of bringing "democracy" to Congress, has actually aided the liberals in assuming virtually dictatorial powers over legislation.

Since the packing plan was put into operation, 53 measures, including major bills, have been blocked by the Rules Committee. Moreover, the Committee has attached a closed rule to important Administration bills which have come to the floor of the House such as Federal aid to dependent children, temporary unemployment compensation and the recently-passed social security legislation. Under the closed rule, amendments to a bill cannot be offered from the floor and Congressmen are forced to like all of it or lump it.

The increasingly undemocratic nature of the Committee has caused two Republicans, who originally voted for increasing its membership, to blister the Rules Committee. In a joint statement, Congressmen William H. Ayres (Ohio) and Thomas B. Curtis (Mo.) accused the House leadership, which favored the packing scheme, of "betraying every member of the House who voted in good faith for enlargement of the Committee" on the theory that more legislation would come to the floor to be voted on by the entire House. The Rules Committee, they claimed, has become a "Kennedy Cork."

Jerome Wiesner: The Twentieth Century Fund has just published a 148-page report called "Strategy and Arms Control" which asserts that inspection in "arms control" (a euphemism for disarmament) has been greatly overemphasized. The report incredibly contends that it would be possible, even, to have an effective disarmament agreement "providing for no inspection at all."

What astounds Capitol Hill is not only the timing of the publication's release—when US representatives in Geneva are pegging any disarmament proposal on an inspection system which the Russians oppose—but the fact that the publication is an outgrowth of a special meeting of *social* and physical scientists at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology last summer.

One of the meeting's main participants was the President's special scientific adviser, Jerome B. Wiesner.

Wiesner's appeasement views and activities were brought to light in the March 3 edition of HUMAN EVENTS. Kennedy trusted him enough to send him on a special junket to Moscow last year—after the election—to work out disarmament agreements with Soviet scientists.

The thesis of the Twentieth Century report becomes even more absurd in the light of recent evidence, brought to view by crack Los Angeles *Times* reporter Robert T. Hartmann, that the Soviets may very well be conducting nuclear tests. Hartmann points out that within recent months earth tremors have been picked up from the Siberian area where the Russians do their most secret work. He says the tremors in this area, which seismologists have been recording for decades, are now occurring far more frequently than usual. He points out also that they are of greater force than "normal engineering blasts."

Nationalities Offensive: Conservatives consider the naming of 34-year-old Congressman Edward J. Derwinski (Ill.) as new head of the Republican National Committee's Nationalities Division to be one of this year's smarter GOP moves.

Derwinski has long maintained that the GOP should pay more attention to the big-city nationality groups, such as the Irish and Poles, who have historically voted Democratic. He told HUMAN EVENTS (after his selection last week): "These people are basically conservative. There is a large percentage of home owners among them, people whose interest in thrift and fiscal responsibility in government is the same as those who have voted Republican all along. For too long the Democrats have cultivated and the Republicans have neglected this important voter segment. We must start now to bring them our message rather than assign the job to someone a month before an election."

One of the most articulate anti-Communists in Congress, the Polish-speaking Derwinski represented the US at the Interparliamentary Union Conference in Warsaw in August, 1959. He spent most of his time discussing, in Polish, the superiority of the American republican form of government over communism.

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HUMAN EVENTS

--- COMMENTARY ---

The greatest dangers to liberty lurk in insidious encroachment by men of zeal, well-meaning but without understanding.

Mr. Justice Louis D. Brandeis:
Opinion in Olmstead vs. United States, 1928

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May 5, 1961

Reds Infiltrate SANE

By Fulton Lewis, Jr.

WHEN this reporter charged a year ago that the Committee for Sane Nuclear Policy was heavily infiltrated by extreme left-wing elements, the nation's liberals rose up in arms.

McCarthyism, they charged. Smear. Guilt by association. Their reactions were not unexpected. But it turns out now that infiltration of SANE by Communists and fellow travelers was even greater than this reporter realized.

For the past year the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee has been quietly conducting an extensive investigation into SANE and the Communist propaganda drive for immediate disarmament. Its findings are indeed revealing.

On May 19, 1960, the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy held a mammoth rally in New York's Madison Square Garden for a "total cessation" of all nuclear development. The rally was heavily publicized and lavishly financed. Papers across the country reported that SANE had filled the Garden to overflowing.

It was embarrassing to the group's national leadership when Senator Tom Dodd, acting chairman of the investigating subcommittee, took the floor to disclose that the chief organizer for the New York show was Henry Abrams, a longtime New York Communist.

Dodd reported further that Abrams had been subpoenaed to testify before his group and had taken the Fifth Amendment when asked about his party membership and activities. Dodd promised a continuing investigation into the question of Red infiltration of SANE and other such organizations.

In a series of hearings held in October, 1960, the Dodd subcommittee looked into the matter of Communist activity in the New York area. Hearings were held in Executive Session and newsmen barred, so that the Congressional group could avoid the harsh glare of publicity that has marred other investigations.

Twenty-seven witnesses who had been active in the New York area were called before the committee. Testimony has just been released for 23 of these witnesses. Of them, all but one resorted to the Fifth Amendment when asked whether they were Communists, and other questions relating to party activities.

1761—1961

TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION IS TYRANNY — JAMES OTIS, 1761
AND "TAXATION WITH REPRESENTATION" IS PRETTY EXPENSIVE!
TAX COLLECTOR
TAXPAYER
BILL FOR THE "NEW FRONTIER"

Nine of these Fifth Amendment witnesses were chairmen of SANE locals in New York City, while the others were financial backers, volunteer workers and members.

An additional Fifth Amendment pleader was Arnold Johnson, legislative director of the Communist Party, who was called before the committee for the purpose of establishing that the party has made it a deliberate policy of infiltrating such organizations.

Communist infiltration of ultra-liberal and pacifist organizations has been urged by party boss Gus Hall in official publications. He has singled out the Committee for Sane Nuclear Policy as a particular target for infiltration by party faithful.

Party infiltration was particularly noteworthy at the demonstrations for "peace and civil rights" held at the Democratic and Republican national conventions last year.

Gus Hall laid down plans for taking over those demonstrations months before the conventions. Security officials report that Reds were very much in evidence at both Los Angeles and Chicago.

In Chicago, for instance, it is estimated that ten per cent of the demonstrators were Communist Party members. A typical organizer was Sam Kushner, member of the party's national committee and Midwest editor of *The Worker*, the party's official mouthpiece.

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Railroad Featherbedding

By Victor Riesel

THE OTHER DAY I rode the New York Central's swift 16-hour crack train between New York and Chicago. While I slept, ate, and mused over the era when each club car had its quota of Hollywood-bound starlets in those earth-bound years, the engine crew up front changed eight times.

This meant that each locomotive crew worked two hours. Under the work rules which have so embittered the railroads, each crew member received a day-and-a-half pay for each two hours of work. Eight of the men who received that day-and-a-half pay for two hour's work are firemen—coal stokers by profession—who ride the Diesel engine though it burns no coal and has no fire.

They are highly paid. Once their task was back breaking. That was on the old romantic coal burners. On a single long trip then they often heaved as much as 30 tons to keep up steam.

The firemen had to shovel the black fuel from a rolling bin attached to the locomotive, which could not function without them. Then the Chicago and Northwestern Railway introduced Diesel-powered streamlined trains in 1935. After that the firemen became as useful as snow plows in the Sahara, according to the railroads. Furthermore, there are now 35,000 of them earning some $270 million each year.

This is what the railroads would like the new 15-man fact-finding board to wipe out by publicly denouncing the firemen as a waste instead of a safety precaution, as the railway unions claim.

But no matter what the work rules Board says, it could have no effect on railroading in 16 states.[1] These are the areas which have full crew laws. This means that when a train crosses the border of one of these states, extra crewmen get aboard. They watch the engineer. They look out the window.

The railroads say they simply go for a high-paying ride. The unions say they're standby safety guarantees. Not only must there be extra crew members "on-train," but there must be extras in the yards themselves in these states. There are, for example, terminal facilities of the Texas and Pacific Railway Company at Texarkana.

The yards are located partly in Texas which has no full crew statute (or crew consist law) and partly in Arkansas which has one. At the Texas end, two helpers are assigned to each yard crew, but a few feet away, at the Arkansas end, there must be three helpers for the same work. This, multiplied thousands of times, costs the railroads some $300 million annually.

One of the full crew states is New York, and the Public Service Commission reports that it costs the railroads here almost $14,700,000 a year for extra men.

Union contracts—as well as the crew law—protect and freeze into their jobs 1,598 men. This means that only 644 railroaders, for whom work can be found elsewhere, stand in the way of a principle. And they cost the railroads $4,400,000 a year. That's a lot of principal too. About $50,000,000 a decade—the margin of survival not only of the lines, but of tens of thousands of jobs as well.

Furthermore, the Public Service Commission states that "it cannot be demonstrated, for example, that a six-man train crew is safer . . ."

This is bound to anger the railway unions, who have seen their membership go from 2,000,000 to 760,000. But anger is no substitute for the planning of men of reason, be they in the government, or from the industrialist inner-sanctums or of labor's leadership. If they all sit together and plan they can help each other in the automatic age.

1 The following states have full crew laws: Arizona, Arkansas, California, Indiana, Maine, Massachusetts, Mississippi, Nebraska, Nevada, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Texas, Washington and Wisconsin.

Space-Age Education

The Soviet cosmonaut's feat "proves" our Federal government must have more money and more power over education—immediately. So argue the liberals.

Chairman Adam Clayton Powell of the House Education and Labor Committee says the Federal aid-to-education bill must be rushed through the House in early May because of the cosmonaut. Soon the National Education Association and all of the left-wing pressure groups will echo the Chairman's demand.

Now—who has had the greatest influence over American education in the last forty years? Who but the educationists began promoting the idea that "we must teach the children, not the subject." That is the unifying doctrine which led to courses in driver training, dating and other components of "life adjustment." The educationists are responsible for the fact that the hard subjects—English, mathematics, geography, history—almost disappeared from the school curriculum in the United States.

A few years ago the tragic results of soft dishonest education became clear to the whole country. With Sputnik it looked as if the conservatives would win. But never underestimate the power of the liberal propagandists. They grabbed the ball—saying Sputnik proved Soviet education better than ours; therefore we must legislate Federal aid. Liberals shift their arguments with the speed of a Sputnik.

The vast machine for softening the minds of the American people to Federalize education is in full swing. We need hundreds of courageous men and women who will say, "Federal aid is progressive education on a monolithic scale. We will not debate the details. We want no part of it."

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Freeman's Farm Pipeline

From the Chicago Tribune

Orville L. Freeman, Secretary of Agriculture, has moved to "revitalize" the operation of federal price support programs through farmer committees. What this means is that the Kennedy Administration intends to use the payrollers of state, county, and community Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation [ASC] committees as a pipeline through which its philosophy of more subsidies and tighter controls for farmers will flow from Washington right down to the grass roots.

The ASC committees are responsible for administering government subsidies and crop control programs at state, county, and township levels. State ASC committees consist of three to five committeemen appointed by the Secretary of Agriculture to channel policy to the county ASC committees. The three member county committees are elected by chairmen of the township committees, which in turn are elected by farmers.

Mr. Freeman has replaced members of several state committees who served under the Eisenhower Administration with new members who are avowedly sympathetic to Democratic farm policies. He has also revised certain administrative regulations governing county and community committees to vest more authority in county committeemen. The effect of these actions is to tighten control from Washington over the committee system and to use the committees not only as administrators but as a sales and promotion force to sell farmers on the idea they can't get along without the Kennedy Administration's farm programs.

In this respect Mr. Freeman is restoring to the committee system the role it had under the Truman and Roosevelt Administrations. Under the Eisenhower Administration, former Secretary of Agriculture Benson deemphasized the sales and promotion role of the committees on the theory that what farmers needed was less, not more, government interference in agriculture.

State committeemen are paid $40 a day, plus $9 a day expenses, for the days they work. In Illinois in recent years they have worked 110 to 140 days a year. County committeemen receive $16 a day, plus auto expenses, and township committeemen receive $13 a day for days worked.

Mr. Freeman announced recently he will abolish "all arbitrary time limits on the service of committeemen, so that their talents may be fully utilized in getting understanding of our programs by farmers and the general public." Under these circumstances it is obvious that every committeeman will be expected to do his best to plant and cultivate the propaganda that the economic welfare of his neighbors depends on a paternal Democratic Administration. Any committeeman rash enough to express doubts to the contrary would be talking himself out of a job on the federal payroll.

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An Antidote to Federal Aid

The Rev. Ira Gallaway, pastor of the Kirkwood Methodist Church of Irving, Texas, returned four Veterans Administration checks with the request that future payments to him be discontinued: "I hope you realize that there are increasing numbers of Texans who are getting fed up with the dangerous trends towards the welfare state and the power of central government . . . Perhaps the action I am taking is radical, but I am taking it in the hopes that I can effectively say to you that the vast majority of people of this country do not want further aid from the government."

France and the UN

Announcing that France refuses to make any contribution to the cost of maintaining a UN force in the Congo, General de Gaulle said:

"The United Nations offers no more than tumultuous and scandalous sessions where it is impossible to organize objective debate and which are filled with invective delivered by the Communists and their allies. The result is that in the Congo the United Nations carries to the spot its global incoherence.

"In these conditions France does not see how she can take any other attitude toward the United Nations—or the disunited nations—than that of the greatest reserve. In any case, she does not want to participate either through her manpower or through her finances to any current or eventual enterprise of this organization—or disorganization. We hope the day will come when common sense will prevail and where reasonable nations, seeing where this experiment has led them, will put this great global organization on a new foundation."

When the Chips are Down

By Senator J. Glenn Beall (R.-Md.)

When the chips are down—In today's international tensions, who are our friends? A compilation of United Nations voting in the last session shows the nations we can count on when the chips are down. Aside from the big powers of the West, our best friend is Greece, who voted with us 60 times, with the Soviets 4 times, and was recorded with 9 abstentions. Following behind are: Turkey, 54 to 5 in our favor, with 12 abstentions; Israel, 35 to 3, with 33 abstentions; Pakistan, 32 to 24, with 15 abstentions. India voted with us 6 times and with Russia 50 times. Mr. Nasser's United Arab Republic voted with us 4 times and against us 53 times. Iraq's record was identical. Saudi Arabia sided with Russia 39 times and with us 6 times. The non-neutrality of the "neutrals" sticks out all over.

Washington wise-crack: When Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson was introduced to an African chief of state, he asked him, "Have you stopped eating your wife?"

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Advise and Censor

From the Richmond News Leader

For several seasons on Broadway, almost every comedy had to include some brightly sophisticated remark about Senator McCarthy or about a certain President's golf swing. No one has a right to complain about this in a free society, where wit and criticism are encouraged. The only possible criticism would have been aesthetic—that the comedy routines got stuck in a rut and kept repeating themselves.

But last fall a new play, "Advise and Consent," came along, and offered some variety to the Broadway scene. It took an acid view of Washington, and it criticized more serious failings than Ike's passion for a five iron. One would think the critics would be happy for the change. But Howard Taubman, of the *Times*, let out the bad news: The play actually criticized Liberals! Now, as everyone knows, the one thing Liberals cannot stand, in their defense of free speech, is for someone to practice the prerogatives of free speech against them. Criticism of Liberals simply cannot be free speech, they feel; it must have been dictated by some sinister cabal or conspiracy. (If the John Birch Society had been in the news last fall, it probably would have been blamed for getting "Advise and Consent" onto the stage.)

Despite the play's failure to get a seal of approval from the *Times*, it became a hit. It prospered so well that it is now being mounted for a nationwide tour. But in a widely-publicized announcement, the co-producer of the show, Mr. Robert Fryer, let Liberals know they need not worry. The script is being changed, he said, to avoid the shadow of a hint that Liberals are open to searching appraisal by free men's wit. Mr. Fryer told a *Times* interviewer, "We don't understand why people think 'Advise and Consent' strikes at the Liberal. It's not meant that way."

Mr. Fryer's comments on the meaning of the play obviously came as a surprise to the play's author, Allen Drury. Mr. Drury denied that the changes were meant to soften the play's attack on what he called "phony Liberals." According to Mr. Drury the changes are meant only to improve the dramatic quality of the presentation. That may be what the producers told Mr. Drury; but they refused to take back what Mr. Fryer had told the *Times*. Whatever the real nature of the changes being made, the backers of the show obviously feel intimidated. They have let the Liberals know that when "advised," they will consent.

Second Generation Note

From the New York Daily News

Our President has nominated two former New-Fair Deal Cabinet member's sons—David C. Acheson and Robert M. Morgenthau—to jobs as United States District Attorneys. Thus, it seems, the New Deal is to carry on, and on, and on.

But—sudden thought—what's happened in Washington job circles, anyway? Have they run out of Kennedys?

Economic Theory

Senator Joseph S. Clark (D.-Penna.): "I thought the economic theory that the budget must be balanced each year, rather than over the entire period of the business cycle, went out with Herbert Hoover. I think it has gone out in every college of the country. I regret it has not in the Senate."

Congressional Record, March 16, 1961; p. 3983.

Republic vs. Democracy

By Senator Strom Thurmond (D.-S.C.)

When the Constitutional Convention in 1787 adjourned, Ben Franklin was asked what type of government he and the other Founding Fathers had established. He replied: "You have a republic, if you can keep it."

James Madison, often referred to as the father of the Constitution, expressed his preference for a republic over a democracy with these words: "A democracy . . . will be confined to a small spot. A republic may be extended over a large region."

John Adams, our second President, put his views more sharply, saying: "There never was a democracy that did not commit suicide." Another great American, Alexander Hamilton, pointed out that, aside from the practical difficulties inherent in a democracy, that a republic serves to cool the occasional passions of the public in an atmosphere of careful deliberation.

A republic is the best form of government for the United States because it best insures *liberty*—the highest end of government. To "keep" our republic and its blessing of liberty, however, the utmost in vigilance is required by every citizen.

SENATOR CAUCUS by Pete Wyma

"The Senator never begins a day without knowing which way the wind is blowing!!"

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HUMAN EVENTS
-- What YOU Can Do --

"Action may not always bring happiness; but there is no happiness without action."

—DISRAELI

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May 5, 1961

No More Organizations Needed

By PAUL HARVEY
American Broadcasting Company News Commentator

THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY is presently on the pan. Senator Goldwater doubts that there will be a thorough investigation of this organization because, "Too many members of Congress are members of it, and many who are not have prominent constituents who are."

PAUL HARVEY

I know nothing about the organization or its founder. The row, however, points up again the degrees of patriotism which have splintered our forces.

Whenever I hear from some aroused well-meaning somebody demanding to know, "What can I do?", I have always replied, "Influence those near you."

It seems to me we do not need more letterheads, more organizations, more contemporary prophets to do our thinking for us.

We need, desperately, to re-infiltrate the organizations which are in influential position, but whose influence has been diluted because its members are ignorant, apathetic, uninterested—or because they fail to be participant.

"Influence those near you."

This is the technique which has won a hundred million new disciples to communism every year since the big war. They don't bother to create new organizations, societies. They infiltrate existing ones.

Genuinely patriotic Americans should be militant enough to be willing to do it the hard way. The uphill way. Not by running off and creating some new club of their own, but by recapturing the old ones.

The American Legion is a splendid example of an organization which has the experience, knowhow and ability to exercise tremendous influence over our national affairs and our international relations. But the American Legion is no more vigorous than its membership. The Legion is only as effective as its post-level participants.

The PTA, according to FBI Director Hoover, has been and is a top target for Red infiltration and contamination. Let's recapture that.

Unions, especially in the key industries, afford an important forum for any American who is willing to stand up and be counted.

We don't need more organizations. I think, perhaps, we have too many organizations.

What we need is more participation by decent, dedicated, on-the-ball Americans in already established institutions.

A letter to the editor is construed as "unimportant" by most busy Americans. It's axiomatic that "the right people don't write."

The left does, and wields much influence by virtue of this tireless tirade.

Whatever the merits or demerits of the society presently under discussion, it is sad and somewhat frightening that Americans seek so desperately for leadership that they will flock to a lamb's horn, by whomever blown.

Yet if the established organization to which we belong does something not to our liking, we walk out . . . and create a new one, further dissipating our energies and diluting our effectiveness.

Join a political organization or club in your community. Give copies of the Paul Harvey article to your friends and associates and get them into your political organization. Before long, your group will be determining its policies and endorsements.

"There is something better, if possible, that a man can give than his life. That is his living spirit to a service that is not easy, to resist counsels that are hard to resist, to stand against purposes that are difficult to stand against."

—Woodrow Wilson

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Federal Bait for Cities

From The Los Angeles Times

THE U. S. SENATE has a bill to establish a public works program similar to the depression-born Public Works Administration with eventual authorizations of $1 billion. We cannot laugh for crying.

If it were only that the bill had been introduced, it might be a subject for derision, but one of its sponsors, Senator Clark (D.-Pa.), says the American Municipal Association reports that 45 of 60 city officials polled are eager for some of the federal funds. This is the tragedy: the local officials leaping at the federal money trap almost before it is baited.

The bill contemplates a matching of funds in the customary fashion: the U. S. Treasury would put up 45% of the money for the local projects. The temptation of "something for nothing" lures the cities to launch projects which require overburdened local taxpayers to foot more than half the bills—and very often they are projects which would have a different shape if the local communities planned them on their own and, sometimes, because federal influence follows federal money, the cities involve themselves in works that are unnecessary. If the citizens had their choice, they would spend their own money for other civic improvements.

(In a related matter, Arthur H. Motley, president of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, characterized the administration proposal to aid distressed areas as an "expensive and discriminatory scheme to subsidize stagnation.")

The PWA bill is further evidence of the slow federalization of the metropolitan areas. Whatever the wishes of the citizens, the great cities seem to be on the way to becoming fiefs of Washington. The financial mechanics of this centralization are easy to understand: The average citizen pays out 30% or more of his income in taxes, and the federal government gets 70 to 80% of the total. Assuming that the present total of taxation is near the point of no return, beyond which is runaway inflation, the cities and states cannot raise their tax rates very much to increase their revenues. So the less sturdy local officials find a way out in accepting federal subsidies, surrendering more and more of the community liberty to Washington, just as hard-pressed countrymen in the dark ages yielded their freedom to the barons in return for protection.

The only way to break the vicious circle is by local counter-pressure. The metropolitan areas plus the smaller cities now have command of the House of Representatives and therefore the power, if they would exercise it, to bring about a revision of the distribution of tax revenues. If the federal government took less, the cities and/or states could raise more for their own considered purposes.

Instead of a new PWA, a better bill would offer federal tax forgiveness to the communities which are willing to tax themselves for the improvements they are convinced from their own considerations that they need.

"Use power to curb power."

—Chinese proverb

FRONTIERS—OLD AND NEW

THE OLD FRONTIER OF SELF RELIANCE
IT'S YOUR RESPONSIBILITY TO SEE THAT I GET HOUSING OF "DECENT STANDARDS"—NOT THE KIND HE BUILT FOR HIMSELF
THE NEW FRONTIER
RELIANCE ON THE GOV'T. FOR EVERYTHING

Uncle Sam, Inc.

From The New York Daily News

You probably don't know it, but our Federal Government possesses some $76 billion worth of real estate, and owns and operates about $200 billion worth of real and personal property.

That, says the respected Tax Foundation, Inc., adds up to about $4,900 per each taxpaying US family. Trouble is, you're not getting any income from that land, or from the railroads, steamship lines, airlines and factories (apparel, rubber products, watch and clock, photo goods, meat packing, fruit-canning, mattress-making, book-printing, etc., etc.) that Uncle Sam operates. Matter of fact, since government operation is notoriously inefficient, you're probably paying extra taxes for the privilege of "owning" that $4,900 worth of property.

Official Washington claims piously that it would like to sell a lot of this stuff to private enterprise, and start collecting taxes on it. But they're hobbled by local, self-interested pressure groups.

Your solution: If you would like to get some tax relief, and quit paying for the losses sustained by these boondoggles and semi-boondoggles, why not write your Congressman to start thinking about you and your family for a change, rather than those noisy, greedy little lobbies?

"I don't believe in government ownership of anything which can with propriety be left in private hands . . . ."

—Theodore Roosevelt

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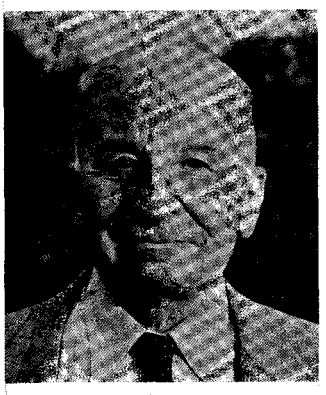
The American School of Economics

DR. LUDWIG VON MISES, as President, and Dr. Hans F. Sennholz, as Dean, will head the American School of Economics in New York City. The school will begin operations as soon as $100,000 is raised for its support.

Dr. von Mises is former Professor of Economics at the University of Vienna, and is now Visiting Professor of Economics in the Graduate School of Business at New York University. He is the author of *Human Action, Socialism, Theory of Money and Credit, Theory and History, Omnipotent Government,* and other publications.



VON MISES

SENNHOLZ

Dr. Sennholz is now Professor of Economics at Grove City College, Pennsylvania. He is a long-time pupil of Dr. von Mises, and is well known as a lecturer on economic problems and contributor to HUMAN EVENTS, *The Freeman, Christian Economics* and other conservative journals.

On the Board of Directors of the new institution are: Lemuel R. Boulware, John T. Brown (Treasurer of the School), William Buckley, Zack Cecil, Lawrence Fertig, Clayton Gaylord, Henry Hazlitt, Albert G. McCarthy, Jr., Dr. von Mises, Frederick Nymeyer, Murray Rothbard, Dean Russell, Dr. Sennholz, Mary Sennholz, and Louis Spadaro.

The school will be primarily a graduate school, offering the degrees of Doctor of Philosophy and Master of Arts. Courses will be offered in Economics, History, Political Science, Philosophy and Sociology.

The prospectus for the school contains the following statement:

"Every American who is genuinely concerned for the future of his country must be alarmed about the rapid decline of economic, political and academic freedom in the United States.

"This deterioration in the foundations of our free society is the inevitable result of the widespread propagation of ideas that are hostile to freedom of choice and freedom of enterprise.

"Collectivist ideas are being promoted all through our educational system and disseminated through all our channels of communication.

"Formal education is mainly responsible for this development. It was on the American campuses that collectivism was first disseminated—and is still being taught. Marxian, Fabian and Keynesian theories—and almost every variety of Socialist doctrine have been drilled into millions of students in hundreds of American universities and colleges.

"Today the majority of these institutions continues to spread collectivist ideas. The full fruition of this education may now be seen in the ever-growing popularity of 'new-deal,' 'fair-deal' and 'new frontier' political platforms—and ever more radical economic thinking in legislative proposals in the various States and in the Congress.

"Unfortunately, at present there are few means to combat the onslaught of this collectivist ideology. It is a fact that *there is not a single graduate school that systematically is training college teachers in the capitalist tradition.*

"In the field of higher education the master's and doctor's degrees are not only the measures for scholarly ability but also *the indispensable license for college teaching.* No one can go very far in college or university teaching without these degrees. *But the fact that all American graduate schools are collectivist prevents most believers in capitalism from obtaining these licenses.*

"Of course it is true that isolated professors who believe in economic freedom have succeeded in holding on to their teaching positions in the midst of otherwise collectivist surroundings. And the scattered location and ideological isolation of these libertarian teachers has the advantage that their philosophy reaches a maximum number of students. But this very isolation prevents them from training new teachers. For it is almost impossible for libertarian students to obtain their degrees from institutions where five out of six faculty members are collectivists. Thus the influence of isolated libertarian professors is, for any practical purpose, virtually nullified.

"Likewise, our good liberal arts colleges are rendered impotent in the training of libertarian college teachers. Every year, to make one example, there are graduated from Grove City College some ten libertarian students who would like to go on to graduate school in order to become teachers of economics. On the basis of past experience, however, only two or three of these students will earn a master's degree and no one will earn his terminal 'teaching license'—that is, his doctorate.

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"For many years, the most urgent need in education has been the need for a graduate school where libertarian students can learn—under the guidance of eminent libertarian scholars—and earn their way to a qualified doctor's degree that will permit them to go out into the nation's colleges and universities and teach the principles of the free market society.

"Finally, today, that need has been met."

Aid to 'Impacted Areas'

From the Wall Street Journal

There's a new twist to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare's customary annual report on Federal aid to so-called impacted areas, where defense installations create unusual local school problems. For the first time, the report includes a breakdown of aid payments by Congressional districts.

This new information probably will be used in an attempt to embarrass Congressmen who approve of aid to "impacted areas" within their districts while opposing such across-the-board Federal school aid as the Kennedy Administration proposes. Supporters of the Administration plan may accuse Congressional opponents of "inconsistency." And there's even talk of using the threat of curtailed aid to "impacted areas" as a weapon to gain support for the Administration's broad education measures.

In view of the fact that 311 of 435 Congressional districts contain "impacted areas," the threat, if it develops, could be a powerful one. Many communities rely heavily on this Federal subsidy to meet their school budgets. But is such aid a handout, pure and simple? And does acceptance of it also compel acceptance of the "principle" of Federal aid to education in general?

We think not. The location of military bases and defense plants is determined by the Government to suit its own necessity and convenience. Any community near a defense installation faces mixed blessings. While the Federal payroll boosts local trade, the sudden demand for expanded utilities and school facilities is a heavy burden on local resources.

Whatever one may think of Federal aid, there is at least a measure of practical justice in the arrangement whereby the Federal Government, which pays no local taxes, helps to meet the demands thrust overnight upon the local community. It is also worth considering that the guest who came unbidden, needing more classrooms, may suddenly pull up stakes and go elsewhere, leaving empty schools behind.

Aid to "Federally impacted areas" is, by definition, special aid to communities which find themselves with special problems caused by the Government. Such aid is in no way comparable to proposed Federal aid to education for communities across the country; the one has nothing to do with the other.

Let's have at least that much clarity in the debate over Federal aid to education.

No Laughing Matter

"In the early years of this century, when the wisdom of the income tax amendment was being debated, one opponent of the amendment was laughed at by supporters of the proposal because he made the radical statement that in time the income tax rate might go as high as ten per cent of a man's earnings. Proponents of the income tax retorted that such a 'confiscatory' rate would never be approved by the elected representatives of the American people.

"Today the income tax rates paid by the American people range from a low of 20 per cent to a high of 91 per cent."

—New Haven (Mo.) *Leader*

Defense as Political Weapon?

When the announcement was made that Laughlin Air Force Base (Del Rio, Texas) is to be closed, depriving the 18,000 population city of a base payroll, civilian and military, of $10 million, leading residents began wondering if the choice of the Del Rio base for the shutdown might be punishment for the negative attitude toward some New Frontier legislation of its Congressman, O. Clark Fisher.

The Pentagon denies the accusation, pointing out that the Del Rio base is only one of 52 to be liquidated.

But skeptics cite Georgia in reply. Twenty-five states are adversely affected by cutbacks, but not Georgia which has 19 military installations, more than any other state. Not one Georgia installation is affected.

The claim is that the Pentagon dares not antagonize Representative Vinson and Senator Russell because they are chairmen respectively of the House and Senate Armed Services Committees.

Furthermore, Vinson voted in favor of the minimum wage bill while most Southern Congressmen voted against it, so the Administration feels kindly toward him. Drew Pearson's column (April 3, 1961) implied that Georgia is to get an additional reward—a vitally important contract for military transport planes for Marietta.

"Free representative government?" is the question being asked by those who see Big Government as the means for ending "government by the people."

Dr. Walter W. Heller has expressed the philosophy of the administration in terms that were novel to the nation when the New Deal introduced them 28 years ago: "We 175 million taxpayers in the United States owe the debt, to be sure, but we also own the debt."

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